FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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It's a Mad World!

By D. C.

The fire in the German Reichstag wears all the earmarks of a clumsy "plant" by the Nazis—the sort of frame-up that is familiar in American industrial disputes. One wonders why Hitler should deem it necessary to resort to such a transparent pretext for the campaign of terrorism on which he had already embarked. It confirms the opinion expressed in these columns last week that he is endowed with more brutality than brains.

Both the Communist and Social Democratic parties are virtually outlawed now in Germany, and the Terror has scarcely begun. What price their millions of votes now, their parliamentary deputies, their elaborate organization machinery?

A universal REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE could paralyze the Hitler government in twenty-four hours—or any other government on earth.

The general strike is the one weapon that has never failed Labor whenever and wherever it has been used. This is unassailable historical fact, despite it is also true that hitherto general strikes have been aborted by the following causes: (a) They were limited, i.e., were not in actuality "general"; (b) Their aims were not revolutionary; (c) They were betrayed by their unionist and political leaders. Nevertheless, their tremendous revolutionary potentiality has been demonstrated time and again. Hitler himself, as a co-conspirator in the Kapp putsch, has had cause to know it.

On the industrial field Labor can, when it chooses, be invincible. On any other field it is powerless.

In Europe and Asia there are a dozen likely occasions for a world war today for every one that was apparent when the "war to end war" began; and popular liberties have become all but extinct everywhere since the crusade to "make the world safe for democracy."

And Franklin Roosevelt, with no evident intellectual or moral assets save amiability and a facility to be "all things to all men," ascends to nominal headship of an agonized nation sliding helplessly toward social dissolution!

It may be well to remind those hopeful souls who may be looking for a liberalism in the Roosevelt administration which the unlamented Hoover lacked that the new President was a member and is a loudly professed admirer of the Woodrow Wilson regime, whose outrages against the Bill of Rights must never be forgotten nor forgiven—and that one of his political pals is no other than A. Mitchell Palmer, the Wilsonian Attorney General, whose savage persecution of social dissenters had no parallel in American history.

George Bernard Shaw said somewhere that the longer he lived, the more convinced he became that this earth was used as an insane asylum by the inhabitants of the other planets. But—

Man is not mad, but bemused. He has in his folly created two Frankenstein monsters—Property and Government. He CAN destroy them, and he MUST—or they will destroy him. And when he has done so, the real history of a wholly HUMAN humanity will begin.

For Anarchist Federation

By THOMAS WRIGHT

Whatever may be the reason some of our comrades, self-styled individualists, put forth for opposing the idea of concerted action, it will be found that the desire for secretiveness is really predominant. This is a reaction to those conditions under which propaganda in the open tends to endanger personal freedom. To maintain this attitude when and where such conditions are not in force, or are definitely mitigated, does not speak well for one's rationality. I submit for the consideration of our comrades a type of federation other than that of individuals in groups, namely, that of groups with each other.

The fear of the possible danger of the development of invasive or subversive authority through such association is unwarranted, as the right to secede, to terminate affiliation, would always exist. A grievous error is committed by those who maintain that decentralization simply means localization and segregation. There is no sound reason to support such a contention. The formation of a federation of English-speaking Anarchists is a pressing need of our time. There is no reason, academic or theoretical, to believe it impossible to bring into existence and to maintain such a federation.

By whatever name it may be called, the more discriminating of our comrades will at once recognize the importance of a federation amongst the Anarchist groups. The ethical, cultural and experimental value to each of us connected with such an enterprise would be of world-wide significance. That technical difficulties, problems of exchange and coordination might arise should not be denied, but what movement of any pertinent idealism is without such handicaps? I for one would not care for a movement devoid of all such tests of character. The advice of Emerson to "hitch our wagon to a star" should not be forgotten. True, the job we propose is big, but the effort we would expend in its realization would be nobly spent. In these days of extensive and lasting conditions of economic unproductivity and insecurity, we have a splendid chance to do something constructive for the realization of Anarchism by making the world we live in at least a little better than we found it.

Think it over critically, comrades. My faith in humanity is still undaunted, notwithstanding much that persuades to the contrary. Let those who would be good and wise get together for the benefit of each and all. Let us not be unmindful, since we have seen some light, that humanity at large has not. Light does not travel so fast. Let us not forget that the welfare of the overwhelming mass of toilers who function through brawn and muscle is securely tied up with that of the intellectuals whose expression is in directive, inventive and experimental channels. To neglect the intellectual by denying him the wherewithal for maintenance, not to speak of comfort or luxury, would spell suicide all around. What is definitely needed today is not alienation, but cooperation; not the setting of one laboring group against another, but the recognition of the principle of the division of labor, and the willingness of all those who are working for a common principle to work together.

The Revolt in Spain

By SOLANO PALACIO

We must confess to a temporary failure. Facts cannot be denied. It is not a question of judging anybody, nor discussing whether the movement in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Cadiz, Zaragoza and other towns January 10th was timely or premature. What we should do is to discuss the facts themselves, emphasizing the ruthlessness and ferocity that the paid assassins of the Republic used against the vanquished. This does not mean that we are asking for mercy. If they are inflexible, we shall in our turn be inflexible with them. Our victims shall be avenged!

In Casas Viejas, the Republican assassins used machine guns and incendiary bombs and finally they applied the "ley de fugas," which consists of killing prisoners in cold blood on the pretext that they tried to escape. They reduced to debris three houses, their dwellers perishing under the falling walls, their bodies carbonized by the ensuing fire. As in historical Numancia, the dwellers of Casas Viejas preferred to die in the flames, bombarded by the government guards, who threw incendiary bombs against them when they saw that they could not beat the rebels any other way.

This was done by the men of the bourgeois order, at the service of the "republic of workers," as this country is called in the constitution.

The Anarchists had the situation under their control in several towns for twenty-four hours and they did not mistreat anybody. They only defended themselves when they were attacked.

In La Rinconada, the comrades of that town seized the city hall, and arrested all the aldermen. The mayor, who was sick, was not molested, only a guard being put over him. The aldermen were later released and immediately they went out in search of armed forces to subdue the workers. Libertarian Communism had in the meantime been proclaimed, without a single casualty, but then came the armed forces of the government. In the safe of the city hall there were 7,000 pesetas, but the Anarchists did not touch them. Against those comrades the fury of the Pharisees of the Republic let loose, from the yellow Socialists—abject and despicable—to the last Republican and Catholic. Even the Communists in those days were slandering the Anarchists in their organ in Madrid, *Mundo Obrero*, stating that the Anarchists were working hand in hand with the bourgeoisie. These infamous lies were printed by the Moscowites while the Anarchists were fighting the police and civil guards in various cities in Spain, and the family of Comrade Seisdedos, with the exception of a grandchild (a girl) called "La Libertaria," who is now in the Medina Sidonia jail, and a thirteen-year-old boy, were all killed in battle.

All the bourgeois and Socialist papers agree in demanding "exemplary" punishment for the rebel workers.

A few months ago when the militarists rose in Seville, with personages high in the army involved, these lackeys of the press asked clemency for the rebels! Today, these same papers demand blood, proletarian blood. *La Voz*, of Madrid, said in large headlines: "The Anarchists shoot at the police in cold blood." Even if it were true, and we are not

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The article in our last issue entitled "Headlines of One Day's News" was compiled by Michael Cohn and should have been so headed.

Zangara

The attempt on the life of President-elect Roosevelt has brought with it the usual request for an exposition of our ideas and principles and the question whether they have anything to do with acts of violence. The request, while reasonable enough, rests upon the assumption that if an article along these lines is written it will dispel misconceptions based upon ignorance and make our ideas more acceptable to the majority of people. Of course it will do nothing of the kind, for hundreds of articles have been written and the Century Dictionary contains a definition of Anarchism that has been acceptable to us for twenty years, but this does not stop men like Harry Elmer Barnes, considered one of the best of our younger historians, from writing in the New York *World-Telegram* almost every other day and using Anarchy in the sense of chaos. We know nothing of Zangara beyond newspaper reports and a few words he mumbled in a movie news reel, and about all we could get out of it was that he was an enrolled Republican two years ago and shot at Roosevelt because he had a pain in his stomach and blamed it on the capitalist system. On the face of things it looks as if the man should have consulted a dietitian or at least a doctor, either of whom probably have a better explanation for his act than we have. To assume that an article by us would clear matters on a subject that has been so grossly misrepresented as Anarchism is naive, to say the least. Anarchism is a philosophy based upon the theory that government rests on force and violence, that no man is good enough to rule another man without his consent, and a society organized on the principle of voluntary cooperation is the only one that will bring peace, freedom and goodwill among men. To those interested in such a philosophy there is plenty of literature on the subject and it is possible that by reading FREEDOM regularly one can learn things that will dispel the idea that government exists for the protection of the weak against the strong or to bring peace among men.

Japan Runs Amuck

The farce is over and the tragedy begins. Official Japan drops the pretense of suppressing banditis and openly declares she intends to keep Manchuria through annexation of the vassal state Manchukuo. This in answer to the unanimous vote of the League against her policy. What will happen no one knows. Of course there are many who think they know, but with war clouds looming large in Europe and the storm threatening to burst any moment it is a courageous man or a fool who ventures more than a guess as to what lies in the immediate future. If the nations combined in the League of Nations together with the United States were honest in their declarations and would refuse to supply Japan with arms and war supplies it might easily bring an early end to the slaughter. Unfortunately they are not, and while preaching peace they sell war material. It was an evil day for mankind when western civilization forced its way into Japan and it may easily be the crippling or end of both. Hardly a single serious man who has given any study to the problem doubts if the war in China and Japan spreads to Europe it means a setback for mankind for generations to come. The one force that might stop it, i.e., the working class, are steeped in nationalism and even in their present misery are blind to its real cause and howl against the "foreign" worker, as if he too were not in the same condition of misery and slavery as themselves.

Big Thieves and Little Suckers

To those Socialists, Communists, Anarchists and other radicals and revolutionists who in the halcyon days of 1927-'29, thinking they could get something for nothing, sold their souls for a mess of pottage and then got swindled out of the price, we offer our commiseration. Once you squared it with your principles it looked like a simple game; place your surplus earnings in the hands of certain experts and said earnings would be increased five or ten fold. Their faith in the integrity of the experts was little short of sublime and was surely worthy of a better cause. So naive were our revolutionists that it is even possible that after having been skinned they felt it was merely a "bad break" and have been dreaming of a come-back. In short, like the man who investigated the hind leg of a mule, they didn't know what happened. The secret is out and the details given to all and sundry, with the result we expect there is many a case of high blood pressure among the aforesaid revolutionists as they look like country bumpkins trying to pick the pea from under the shell of the city slicker.

As explained by Messrs. Mitchell and Baker of the National City Bank it is so simple even we can understand the process. Men and women wishing to increase their wealth without working hear that if they will place it in the hands of men like the above mentioned, the latter will buy certain pieces of paper called stocks and bonds which others will buy for larger sums and the Mitchells and Bakers will charge for this service a small commission. The fact that the second, third or last buyer may be influenced by misrepresentation and pay a higher price than the stock is worth—well, that is just too bad and our revolutionist justifies his conduct by saying, "Well, it is the system and a man *must* live."

Peruvian bonds for instance were sold for 96½ in spite of the fact that the bank had information that they were a very bad investment, but then the bank made $861,000 commission, so what will you, investor? So profitable was this little game that Mr. Mitchell, who got a paltry $25,000 a year salary, received $3,500,000 in bonuses in three years. Who wouldn't, when you can lend yourselves other people's money without interest to bolster up your stock, and if it goes so low that it can't be sold at any price you merely mark it off the books and call it a day? Mr. Mitchell not only betrayed the confidence of the suckers who loaned him their money, but he cheated the dear U. S. government that maintains an army, navy and all the other parts of the machine that defends him in his looting and plundering, by making what is called a wash sale of $2,800,000 to avoid paying income taxes. After holding the stock—if it was anything but a matter of bookkeeping for a while—he "bought" it back.

The Machine

By GRACE KEMMERLING WELLINGTON

Moloch who feeds on dreams
dragging at your polished wheels
the Lord of the World—once
your creator, now your slave!
Who shall praise you,
your purring belts and
gleaming pistons—
Now that the mechanization of
the world
has entered Art?
Only the chatterers,
the over-blown egotists
who have founded a new
and more dangerous Patriotism,
and sing hosannas to the Machine Age—
These shall praise you
who think in horse-power,
in electric power,
and find it easier to concede
than to struggle:
These super-robots shall praise you
who think in terms of
vibrations—and see visions only
in angles and squares—
and liberty
in mass production.
Machine—
when man made you,
he dreamed of shortened labor,
of leisure and beauty—
Into each rivet went a little song;
Into each gleaming piece of steel
a breath of hope.
You were to set him free,
Betrayer!

As if to add salt to the wounds of the poor suckers who were swindled the *World-Telegram* tells its readers of March 1st that one of the things that should and will weigh in this man's favor is the fact that he appeared before the Board of Estimate of New York City some months ago and insisted they balance their budget. Balancing the budget meant cutting salaries of hard working school teachers and other poorly paid civil servants. A man connives at and profits by using other people's money, by suppressing the truth as to the value of stocks in order that he and others may gain by it and cheats the government with fake sales to avoid paying income taxes and at a time when people were willing to take the word of bankers more than they are at present—this man, head of the second largest bank of the country, with all his power and influence, appears before the Board of Estimate and harangues them on living within their means. He and his friends issue ultimatums to the state legislature and succeed in cutting salaries of poor devils getting as low as $1,500 a year. Instead of placing this brazen hypocrite in the public stocks for honest men to spit at, we are told this will be a point in his favor when weighing his conduct as a banker. Of course it will, for those in favor of cutting down standards of living for workers. No Tammany grafter whom the *World-Telegram* denounces so roundly has done or could do anything more crooked than Mitchell, and with all their crookedness the Tammanyites were in favor of maintaining salaries. Mitchell, who in all probability swindled many of those very teachers and civil servants whose salaries he advocated cutting, was a "good" citizen, whereas the Tammany grafter—well he is just a Tammany grafter. As to the radicals we have been talking about, to vary an old Biblical saying those who take up the stock market will be destroyed by the stock market.

H. K.

"Comrade" Green Sees Red

By DONALD CROCKER

William Green, feeble successor to the arrogant Gompers, recently provoked a very mild sensation by emitting what, coming from his pious and patriotic lips, sounded like a really bellicose noise. Professing to speak for what is left of the A. F. of L., he hinted darkly of a general strike—nothing less—if unemployment is not relieved by adoption of a shorter work day and week. A few days later his henchman Matty Woll, of Civic Federation and Red-baiting ill-fame, echoed in like vein, dangling the dread bugbear "Socialism" before capitalistic eyes.

One wonders whom, if anyone, Brothers Green and Woll expected to impress by their belated display of truculence. Who is unaware that the executive of the A. F. of L. possesses no authority whatever to call a single union cardholder off his job? And what employer or politician now fears the vanished power of organized labor anyway?

"Labor is on the march," says Green. Hell no, William, Labor's gait today is not a *march* but a shuffle—in the breadlines and "on the stem." Unions once wealthy and influential have abandoned their members to literal beggary. They are done. Their tale is told. And no one knows it better than their enemies.

Demoralization and disintegration have gutted the heart out of American trade unionism since the onset of the Great Depression. Padded and doctored statistics fail to conceal the utter havoc in its ranks. The old unions are dead already, albeit for a while their ghosts will stalk and gibber. (One lamentable specter, the once puissant United Mine Workers, re-elected as president a few weeks ago the man who more than any other encompassed its destruction, the unspeakable John L. Lewis.)

The unions' doom was inevitable. Submissive to a leadership that, Bourbon-like, learned nothing and forgot nothing, their members watched with dull amaze, uncomprehending bewilderment, the inroads made the past few decades upon their vaunted skill monopoly. They suffered themselves to be overwhelmed by the relentless labor-discarding machines, whose epoch-wrecking effects Scott's Technocrats have done good service by dramatizing so that even the unheeding must see and ponder. And all the while that the very ground beneath their feet was being cut away, the unionists let themselves be lulled by Gompersian platitudes plausible at the beginning of the century. They tolerated, nay, gladly fostered, officials who might, for all they cared, be any degree of rogues and racketeers so long as they delivered the goods—high wages, short hours, jobs.

And now the goods are no longer delivered. The cherished union card in his pocket has become to its hungry holder a worthless thing. The union treasury into which he had poured his heavy dues is empty. The officials he helped to fatten throw up their hands and protest they can do nothing for him. So he, erstwhile "aristocrat of labor," is driven to compete with the unskilled and unorganized, whom he once despised, for any job at any wage—failing which, he and his are cast upon the tender mercies of charity.

That has happened to the members of what were the mighty (and corrupt) building-trades unions, to the miners, and to many others. The printers' organizations, the oldest and in most respects the best in the Federation, have carried on longer than others in an endeavor to care for their unemployed—now they, too, are cracking under the intolerable load. Their more intelligent members realize and admit that all their efforts serve but to postpone for a little time the certain collapse.

So that Mr. Green's bombast means nothing more than that, as president of a loose federation of obsolescent unions (his authority over which was at best never more than nominal), he is attempting to invoke a non-existent prestige, to speak in the name of an economic force that is a force no longer. (It is characteristic of this small and silly fellow that soon after his blustering pronunciamento, as if frightened at his own temerity, he found a pretext to publicly reaffirm the imbecile official A. F. of L. attitude of opposition to diplomatic recognition of Russia. He felt that he must reassure his reactionary friends as to his essential respectability.)

The old unionism is dead. But is the New Unionism born—a unionism which must be revolutionary or it is nothing; militant or it is nothing; Anarchistic or it is worse than nothing?

In America the I.W.W. has been from its beginning the expression of the Anarcho-Syndicalist idea in the Labor movement, albeit, stupidly as the writer believes, it refuses to affiliate with the Syndicalist International. The I.W.W. analysis of the American industrial situation; its arraignment of the fatal weakness of craft unionism; its prediction of the outcome of economic tendencies—all have been confirmed by the history of the past quarter century, and most conclusively by the debacle of 1929. Because it is scientific, unanswerable, *true*, the philosophy on which the I.W.W. was founded *must* triumph. The future belongs to it—that is, if mankind is destined to enjoy a tolerable future.

Is not the time ripe for the calling of such another conference as that of 1904, out of which the I.W.W. was born—a conference which shall summon all revolutionary labor unions and revolutionary fractions of conservative unions to gather for the erection of the New American Unionism—a conference the call for which shall irrevocably divorce the new movement from political Socialism and political Communism?

And what of the role of avowed Anarchists in the New Unionism? To the writer this question should be of transcendent importance to every Anarchist who holds his faith as something more than a dilettante's toy. And it is a question to which he hopes to revert in a later issue.

Out of a Job!

By MAX WEISS

Are you walking the streets, looking for work?

Are your clothes worn out? Are you cold?

See those other people walking the streets, looking for work the same as you? There are fifteen millions of them. What chance have you?

Do you think of going to another town to find a job? What's the use? The streets of the other towns are lined with men and women tramping, tramping like you, looking for work.

Factories are closing everywhere, mines and railroads are letting out workers. There are no jobs.

Why?

Because the workshops, mines, railroads and all other things that supply jobs for people are the private property of the rich. We, the workers, do the work. We produce the goods. They take the profits. The wealthy class will not let any goods be produced, except what they can sell for a profit. During the war, they made big profits. They worked us overtime. They made billions of dollars extra profit—over and above regular profits. They are taking it easy now. As for us workers—we can starve, be thrown out from our homes in the cold, like dogs. They are through with us.

FREEDOM SPRING COSTUME BALL

FRIDAY, APRIL 7TH

Irving Plaza Hall

15th Street and Irving Place, New York City

Tickets 50 cents

There is more than enough food, clothing and shelter—everything we need. But the working people can't buy! The goods that are already made are locked up.

The people are hungry "because there is too much food." The people are cold "because there is too much clothes"!

The boss says "No work." The word of the boss is law.

When the capitalist needed us for cannon fodder, what did they do? Through the government they took us by force. They said "Fight or Work"—and that settled it. They took everything we had, our lives when necessary.

What now?

Will we look on mutely at the miseries of the millions starving and dispossessed?

No! It is high time for us, builders of fortunes for others, to wake up, and begin to build a free society—free from masters and slaves—The Anarchist Society!

THE REVOLT IN SPAIN

(*Continued from page* 1)

sure it is, how about the police shooting at the workers?

We must confess that the movement was not effective. It was a spasmodic movement rather than a pre-arranged plan. It came about because of unbearable misery.

The C.N.T. did not control or provoke this uprising. When the workers went into the streets almost simultaneously in eleven provinces they sought salvation in the postulates of the National Confederation of Labor. No one who is not a politician doubts that Libertarian Communism will be established in Spain in the near future.

In *Solidaridad Obrera*, the Local Federation of Catalonia published a reply to the capitalist and Socialist press that demanded proletarian blood, in part as follows:

"Our revolution will be made: it will be made and will be successful—let the canaille make note of this. IT WILL SUCCEED! It will be useless any attempt to oppose our revolution, because there is no power strong enough to thwart the designs and the will of the people. The capitalist rabble who demands blood shall have blood. Perhaps our blood, but of course their rotten blood, too.

"We shall go to the revolution, but our revolution will be of life or death; of life for us, for the new society; of death for all that is decrepit and rotten and no longer has a right to subsist. It will be fatal for the canaille."

The assassins of the people beat up workers in the police stations. Just as in the good old times of Anido y Arlegui, who during the dictatorship applied the "ley de fugas," murdering hundreds of workers, the paid assassins of the Republic applied it in the Park of Maria Luisa in Seville, in Barcelona and other places.

In spite of the efforts of the Republican-Socialist government to drown in blood any rebellious movement, the revolution marches on, making long strides, and it is a certainty that Spain will be the first country where a serious trial of Libertarian Communism will be given.

Co-operation and Mutual Service

By CHARLES T. SPRADING

Co-operation has a general sociological and economic application, as well as an ethical one. It has been of service in all the relations of life to every tribe and nation on earth. Where it has been used extensively, the most benefit has accrued.

Co-operation is economic mutual service, and mutual service, when applied to economics, is co-operation. This harmonious relationship establishes economic justice between individuals, and between individuals and society.

Co-operation is a reflective solidarity. This sociality gives effectiveness to a group, it leads to a mutual service that is beneficial to modern society, just as it was to primitive society.

Co-operation is the antithesis of contest. Instead of the people fighting with one another for supremacy, it is a getting together for mutual benefits.

Co-operators demand an equalizing of opportunities. They also propose to reward those who serve all, not those who serve self only. Capitalists demand quantity of their workers; co-operators demand quality of their workers.

The principles of co-operation are in harmony with the principle of equal rights, which could be described as the right of each to the fullest opportunities for the exercise of his faculties, limited only by the equal rights of all others; the right of each to benefit by his own activities, reward being proportioned to services rendered.

As access to all opportunities is essential to a general creative effort, and this effort is necessary to a high state of civilization, co-operation guarantees to uphold the greatest possible opportunities available to mankind.

Co-operation is an equitable economic system wherein the individual finds that in working for the interests of others, he is working for his own interests as well, and that others working for his interests are also working for their own. This would be a common interest, and a common interest must be the uniting motive.

Co-operation Not Communism

This does not mean communism, for each individual has his individual return or portion, to dispose of in his own way. Men co-operate to produce or distribute things together, but they can each consume those things separately. It is an individual ownership of the product, not a common ownership. This is one vital difference between co-operation and communism.

Co-operation is a method of equitable distribution that has been well demonstrated for many years in numerous countries, and has been acceptable to honest people of every race. It is a system of economic justice; a system of mutual service; a peaceful plan that succeeds. Of course it is not *revolutionary;* it is not spectacular; it is not sudden, but slow; it is not militaristic, but industrial; it is not by might, but by right that it makes its steady but permanent progress. Co-operation is too slow for the revolutionist who believes that he can fix economic matters with a gun. The co-operator believes he can fix it by mutual service.

Government ownership or State Communism as in Russia is not co-operation, as some careless thinkers believe. States and governments use force.

(*To be continued*)

FREEDOM LUNCHEON
SATURDAY, MARCH 18TH, 5 P. M.
219 Second Avenue
All Comrades Welcome

Book Review

By AMMON A. HENNACY

Farewell to Reform, Being a History of the Rise, Life, and Decay of the Progressive Mind in America, by John Chamberlin. Liveright, Inc., New York, 1932.

The Anarchist who seeks proof of his assertion that reform measures are a waste of time had better make this book and the autobiography of Lincoln Steffens his text-books. The campaigns of the Populists, of Bryan, Roosevelt and Wilson — the promise and the betrayal—are well outlined. The one man for whom we can still have respect for his honesty and courage is Robert M. LaFollette; he, and Altgeld and Debs, stand out as types of the best that politics has produced.

The author speaks of "Czolgosz, the deluded boy who had been listening to and perhaps misinterpreting Emma Goldman." He quotes Harold Laski as saying, "Government is merely a function of that group or groups which are in a position to make the most effective demands upon it." In speaking of property the author states that once you admit private property as the basis of society, "you posit incentives to getting property, and jobbery is at once unleashed. The two are inseparable, now and forever." The author shows that the police charged the crowd in the Haymarket in Chicago in defiance of the orders of the mayor, and points out that William Dean Howells, although rather timid about many matters, boldly defended our comrades at that time. Giving credit to the work of Emma Goldman in defining Anarchism "in such a way as to make it seem the most intelligent and humane of creeds," Mr. Chamberlin shows that the violence of capitalism greatly exceeds the violence of Anarchists, and concludes that "problems of organization, of means, of institutions for human concourse, are left in a delightfully vague region of the non-necessary," and that "If Anarchism has any future, it is far beyond the horizon, once the state has 'withered' away as a coercive instrumentality." Yet the author, when later quoting Randolph Bourne, seems to agree with his definition of the state as "a red herring, used to divert citizens from a contemplation of values."

This book is not only a history of reform but a history of the literature of the time, showing the work done by Gustavus Myers and Upton Sinclair, as well as of Steffens and other muckrakers. The author appreciates the definition of "sin" as applied to modern business as given by Prof. Ross of the University of Wisconsin and also shows by the illustrations given by Steffens how the "good" man in politics is just as efficient a tool for the system of exploitation as is the "bad" crooked politician.

Mr. Chamberlin has no illusions of the public being educated by such liberal educators as Prof. John Dewey, who, he states, fell by the wayside during the war; "the stream of mass education can rise no higher than its source in political representation; the school board is inevitably of a piece with plutocratic control in city hall and legislature."

Roosevelt had too many nice friends who were a part of the corporation system; Wilson was "a lath, painted to look like iron"; La Follette was always willing to be beaten; he would not compromise, for that "half a loaf in legislation is apt to dull the appetite for the whole loaf." The only value of reforms, says the author, "is that they fail to achieve what they are sanguinely intended to achieve; and in so failing they help to make the system which they are intended to patch up only the more unpatchable." He looks forward to an American Legion Fascism or Ku Kluxism, saying, "I venture no prophecies here, but fear the worst."

The present depression has well shown the failure of reform; this book shows the reason for this failure, and while it only admits Anarchism as something in the very distant future, it does not hold up Communism or Socialism as a panacea. If the Anarchist intends to meet the present distrust of orthodox methods he must show by his tactics that he is confident of the future being with his ideal and not show his lack of faith in his ideal by calling upon the state for "unemployment insurance" as do the Communists, or upon government ownership of public utilities as do the Socialists. All of this, Mr. Chamberlin, as well as James Truslow Adams, points out is but mere reform. We do not need to cater to the temporary issue which will bring temporary success.

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"What Science Knows of the Future Life"

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M. SCHMIDT
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An April Fool package party and dance for the benefit of FREEDOM will be held Saturday evening, April 1st, at the Progressive Russian Club, 1785 East First Street, Detroit, under the auspices of Libertarian Group, Kropotkin Literary Society W. C. Br. 413 and Kropotkin Literary Society W. C. Br. 413 B. All comrades are asked to come, bring packages and participate in the fun.